

Violence against Dalit Woman and Constitutional Protection: An analysis**Sanjeev Kumar**

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Abstract: The triumphant Brahmanism began an onslaught on both the Shudras and the women in pursuit of the old idea, namely servility, and Brahmanism did succeed in making the Shudras and the women the servile classes: Shudras the serfs to the three higher classes and the women the serfs to their husbands (Ambedkar 1987, Vol. 3. P.316-17). This sentence in Ambedkar has multiple reflections. It unfolds the phenomenology of caste structure in Hindu system and the condition of woman and Dalits. In this context, this paper explains the constitutional safeguards and the present condition of violence against dalit women.

Key Words: Dalit, Constitution, Woman, Violence, Safeguards, *Shudras*

Introduction:

The above quotation from Babasaheb Ambedkar's writings and speeches reflects a wider vision of contemporary problematics of caste society. Brahmanism is the causal root of making both Dalits and woman servile; consequently, it has a 'new category' of Dalit-woman, who suffers double victimization. Therefore Dalit and Dalit woman are two different 'category', because Dalit woman is a subject of double victimization by both the institutions of caste and patriarchy. The complexity of this "new category" has been persistent since the institutionalization of caste system. This issue has been dealt in the discipline of social sciences, but it needs more attention and clarity. The philosophical basis of caste system has also been a matter of debate. D.L. Seth argues that "the causal base of any caste discrimination is not 'untouchability' but humiliation and power politics"¹ (Seth D.L, panel discussion 17th August, 2011, CSDS). On the other hand, On the other hand Gopal Guru in introduction of his edited book humiliation argues that "it is the notion of untouchability that foregrounds the form and content of humiliation" (Guru 2011). But importantly, various case studies and data produced by governmental and non-governmental organization shows a complex close functional relation of patriarchy, untouchability and power possession in the day to day life of both victim and

perpetuator. To deal with the issues of caste atrocities, Indian Constitution has several constitutional safeguards which have been partially translated into the policies. There are several amendments and new legal measures have also been brought to deal with caste oppression. There are several governmental and non-governmental agencies working to prevent rescue the victims of caste atrocities.

In this context where violence against woman which is perpetuated by a combination of sociological factors of untouchability and patriarchy needs to be understood both theoretically and practically. This paper is intended to focus on the theoretical issues of violence against Dalit woman and practical ongoing practices of violence against them both quantitatively and qualitatively. First part would focus on the historical evolution of caste system in India, its philosophical basis and theoretical debate in general. There are conceptual issues which have been debated long in the context of Dalit woman is the second concern of this paper. Third part would focus on the constitutional provisions to safeguard and empower woman in general and dalit woman in particular. Fourth part concerns with major policies and Acts related to empowerment and safeguard of Dalit woman. And finally, Fifth part is concerned with the role of state machinery and NGOs in the context of preventing atrocities against Dalit woman and providing welfare measures for the victims. This part would bring some statistical evidences and case studies to highlight the contemporary nature of atrocities against Dalit woman.

¹ D. L. Seth in panel discussion on "contemporary as method" argued that entire dalit scholarship in India has misunderstood the notion of untouchability and discrimination, and thereby situates 'untouchability' at the base or reason of every discrimination or atrocities. But the causal base of any discrimination is not 'untouchability' but humiliation and power politics. (Seth D.L, panel discussion 17th August, 2011, CSDS)

Nature of Caste System in Contemporary India:

The 'Caste' in India is surrounded by several debates there are two dominant perspective to understand the genealogy of caste in India. The

dominant Brahminical conception, which defines, theorises and justifies the existing caste system broadly, emerges from the philosophy of *varnashramdharma*, which has become common sense and natural social institution for most of the people. On the other hand, Dalit-bahujan and subaltern perspective which rewrite the social history of India, from a very scientific and original perspective. Dalit-bahujan perspective basically originates from the bhakti movement in the popular sense, though there have been several indigenous practices of living and describing original history of humankind in India, but had remained unknown to the modern academia. It was Jotirao Phuley who gave a brilliant description of Indian history and destroyed the brahminical assumption and justification of caste theory. Phuley's intellectual and social effort was carried forward by Periyar, Ambedkar and recently G. Aloysius, K. Illaiah, B. R. Mani and G. Omvedt etc. their socio-political and intellectual efforts have created a dominant paradigm to understand contemporary caste system in India.

The Genealogy of caste in India has been clearly described by Jotirao Phuley. He says that Brahmans earlier known as Aryans came from Iran and settled in the northern area of India around the bank of Sindhu river. Phuley mentions:

They came as conquerors and defeated the original inhabitants of this land. Under the direction of the leaders such as Brahma and Parshuram, Brahmins fought protracted wars against the original inhabitants. They initially settled on the banks of the Ganges and later on spread-out over the other parts of the country. In order to keep a better hold over the masses, they devised the mythology, the Varna and caste system and also the code of cruel and inhuman laws. They founded a system of priestcraft which gave the Brahmin a prominence in all rituals. The caste system was a creation of cunning Brahmins. The highest rights and privileges were given to the Brahmins whereas Shudras and Atishudras (untouchables) were regarded with hatred and contempt. Even the commonest rights of humanity were denied to them. Their touch or even their shadow was considered as pollution. (Omvedt)

Ambedkar in his speeches spoke about the nature of caste system in Indian. In the Annihilation of Caste, Ambedkar explains about the contemporary nature of Brahmanism and caste atrocities. He brings various examples to support his explanation he says:

Times of India of 4th January 1928. "The

correspondent of the *Times of India* reported that high caste Hindus, viz. Kalotas, Rajputs and Brahmins including the Patels and Patwaris of villages of Kanaria, Bicholi-Hafsi, Bicholi-Mardana and of about 15 other villages in the Indore district (of the Indore State) informed the Balais of their respective villages that if they wished to live among them they must conform to the following rules :

- (1) Balais must not wear gold-lace-bordered puggies.
- (2) They must not wear dhotis with coloured or fancy borders.
- (3) They must convey intimation of the death of any Hindu to relatives of the deceased—no matter how far away these relatives may be living.
- (4) In all Hindu marriages, Balais must play music before the processions and during the marriage.
- (5) Balai women must not wear gold or silver ornaments; they must not wear fancy gowns or jackets.
- (6) Balai women must attend all cases of confinement of Hindu women.
- (7) Balais must render services without demanding remuneration and must accept whatever a Hindu is pleased to give.
- (8) If the Balais do not agree to abide by these terms they must clear out of the villages. The Balais refused to comply; and the Hindu element proceeded against them. Balais were not allowed to get water from the village wells; they were not allowed to let go their cattle to graze. Balais were prohibited from passing through land owned by a Hindu, so that if the field of a Balai was surrounded by fields owned by Hindus, the Balai could have no access to his own field. The Hindus also let their cattle graze down the fields of Balais. The Balais submitted petitions to the Darbar against these persecutions ; but as they could get no timely relief, and the oppression continued, hundreds of Balais with their wives and children were obliged to abandon their homes in which their ancestors lived for generations and to migrate to adjoining States, viz. to villages in Dhar, Dewas, Bagli, Bhopal, Gwalior and other States. What happened to them in their new homes may for the present be left out of our consideration. (Annihilation of caste, 1994, part-II)

On the other hand, Ambedkar gives an example how; dalits are treated in their day to day live. The

examples given by Ambedkar in Annihilation of caste are not something took place in history only but it has been continued till today in various forms depends. Ambedkar provides an example:

A most recent event is reported from the village Chakwara in Jaipur State. It seems from the reports that have appeared in the newspapers that an untouchable of Chakwara who had returned from a pilgrimage had arranged to give a dinner to his fellow untouchables of the village as an act of religious piety. The host desired to treat the guests to a sumptuous meal and the items served included *ghee* (butter) also. But while the assembly of untouchables was engaged in partaking of the food, the Hindus in their hundred, armed with lathis, rushed to the scene, despoiled the food and belaboured the untouchables who left the food they were served with and ran away for their lives. And why was this murderous assault committed on defenceless untouchables? The reason given is that the untouchable host was impudent enough to serve ghee and his untouchable guests were foolish enough to taste it. Ghee is undoubtedly a luxury for the rich. But no one would think that consumption of ghee was a mark of high social status. The Hindus of Chakwara thought otherwise and in righteous indignation avenged themselves for the wrong done to them by the untouchables, who insulted them by treating ghee as an item of their food which they ought to have known could not be theirs, consistently with the dignity of the Hindus. This means that an untouchable must not use ghee even if he can afford to buy it, since it is an act of arrogance towards the Hindus. This happened on or about the 1st of April 1936. (Annihilation of caste, 1994. part-II)

Aloysius talks about the nature of caste system in the contemporary India, by establishing critical tradition of thinking. In his recent work Brahmanical inscribed in the body- politic, brings strong arguments as how caste system in India has not lessened but developed even more strongly. And consequently has entered into every aspect of the body-politic (Aloysius 2010).

Constitutional provisions

The Constitution of India has made a large numbers of provisions in terms of Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy and other legal rights and Acts for all sections of people. The philosophy of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State policy has been fundamentally targeted to bring social justice in the society and empowerment of downtrodden people. Sukumar and Menon also described the importance

of the Constitutional provision of the Indian Constitution at the theoretical level. They say, "In continuation of the emancipator tradition, the Constitution of independent India created an egalitarian road map for the country, emphasizing the values of liberty, equality, Fraternity and justice"(Sukumar & Menon 2011). Part III of the Constitution from Article 13 to 35 contains Fundamental Rights and Part IV of the Constitution contains the Directive Principles of the State Policy under from Article 36 to Article 51. G. Austin argues about the historical significance of DPSP, says, "it is not unreasonable to conjecture also that the placing on the government of a major responsibility for the welfare of the mass of Indians had an ever deeper grounding in Indian history" (Austin 2005 p.76). Furthermore, Austin also endeavors to connect these historical romantic tradition carried forward by the members of the Constituent assembly,. Austin says, "Heir to this tradition, Assembly members believed that the impetus for bringing about the social revolution continued to rest with the government" (Opp. Cit. 76). Part XVI of the Indian Constitution from Article 330 to 342 talks about "SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO CERTAIN CLASSES"². Ambedkar in his speeches in the Constituent Assembly, made important insights on the relation between Fundamental Rights and Directive principles of State Policy. Importantly Ambedkar's vision which reflects from his speeches and writings shows a significant connection between Fundamental Rights and directive principle of State policy. Ambedkar at various occasions tries to give equal importance to both these rights and duties as to bring social justice and particularly making society equal, where equality of opportunity and affirmative discrimination are functioning together for the

² See Chaturvedi K. N. (2007). The Constitution of India, Government of India Ministry of Law and Justice. Delhi. Article 330 deals with 'Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People', Article 331 deals with 'Representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People', Article 332 deals with 'Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States'. Article 333. Representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the Legislative Assemblies of the States. Article 334. Reservation of seats and special representation to cease after sixty years. Article 335. Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts. Article 336. Special provision for Anglo-Indian community in certain services. Article 337. Special provision with respect to educational grants for the benefit of Anglo-Indian Community Article 338. National Commission for Scheduled Castes. Article 338A. National Commission for Scheduled Tribes. Article 339. Control of the Union over the Administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. Article 340. Appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes. Article 341. Scheduled Castes. Article 342. Scheduled Tribes

purpose. On 29th August 1947, during the passing of a resolution on the Drafting Committee by the Constituent Assembly, Dr Ambedkar discussed the nature of Directive Principles during discussing the "Form of the Constitution." He said: "If it is said that the Directive Principle have no legal force behind them, I am prepared to admit it. But I am not prepared to admit that they have no sort of binding force at all. Nor am I prepared to concede that they are useless because they have no binding force in law." (CAD VOL 7 Thursday, 4 Nov, 1948)

Further while elaborating and justifying the theme of "Directive Principle", Ambedkar argues that Directive Principle is like the instructions for the State machinery or Government. He says: "The Directive Principles are like the Instrument of Instructions which was issued to the Governor-General and to the Governors of the Colonies and to those of India by the British Government under the 1935 Act. Under the Draft Constitution it is proposed to issue such instruments to the President and to the Governors." The texts of these Instruments of Instructions will be found in Schedule IV of the Constitution. What is called Directive Principles is merely another name for Instrument of Instructions. The only difference is that they are instructions to the Legislature and the Executive. Such a thing is to my mind to be welcomed. Wherever there is a grant of power in general terms for peace, order and good government, it is necessary that it should be accompanied by instructions regulating its exercise." (CAD VOL 7 Thursday, 4 Nov, 1948)

Fundamental Rights:

Part III of the Constitution provides various rights to the individual and group of people, out of which there are certain articles important for establishing socialist principles and safeguards of the downtrodden people. Article 14(**Equality before law**) of the Constitution provides to the citizens, Equality before law and Equal Protection of Law within the territory of India. Article 15³(**Prohibition against discrimination**) of the Indian Constitution provides clauses related to the Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 16⁴(**Equality of Opportunity**) of the Indian

³ See Constitution of India, (2007) for other provisions. This Article has important provisions for the protection against discrimination and affirmative action clauses etc.

⁴ Clause (1) says, "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State". Clause (2) says "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State". Clause (3) says, "Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament

Constitution provides a deeper reflection of the concepts "Equality of opportunity". Clause (1) reflects the positive connotation of 'equality of opportunity' for all citizens, while clause (2), brings negative connotation of the equality. Article 17(Abolition of Untouchability) of the Indian Constitution provides "abolition of Untouchability". Article 21(Right to Life), guarantees right to life and makes it legally enforceable through a court of law.

Directive principles of State policy and other provisions

Part IV of the Constitution has several provisions as to direct state to make policies. Certain Articles are directly targeted to empower downtrodden group such as: Article 43⁵ provides elaborate directive for the State to endeavour to secure the people to enjoy all kinds of social and cultural opportunities apart from other welfare measures. Article 39 A⁶ provides directives to the State to act

from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office [under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory]⁴ prior to such employment or appointment".

Clause (4) says, "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State". Clause (4A)⁴ says, "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation [in matters of promotion, with consequential seniority, to any class]⁴ or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes which, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State". Clause (4B)⁴ says, "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from considering any unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for being filled up in that year in accordance with any provision for reservation made under clause (4) or clause (4A) as a separate class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years and such class of vacancies shall not be considered together with the vacancies of the year in which they are being filled up for determining the ceiling of fifty per cent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year."

⁵ "The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent Equal justice and free legal aid. Organisation of village panchayats. Right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases. Provision for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief. Living wage, etc., for workers. standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas."

Article 39 A of the Present Constitution says that "The State shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes

as to secure the operation of legal system to provide free legal aid on a basis of equal opportunity. Article 46 talks about to take care of the economic and educational interests of Dalits and to improve their socio-economic conditions.

Indian Constitution on the other hand, provides several provisions for reservation of seats in Panchayats, legislature, and educational institutions and administration of Scheduled Tribe area and other provision of welfare of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled tribes, OBCs and other minorities. Article 243 D provides provision for reservation for women and SCs and STs in the Panchayats. Article 243T, provides reservation of SCs and STs in the Municipalities, on the other hand, part XVI from Article 230 to 242, of the Constitution is about special provisions for certain classes, which are either related to reservation or equality or other forms of affirmative discrimination.

Special Legislations

The Government of Indian has taken several legal, administrative and developmental measures to safeguard the human rights of Dalits and to improve their socio-economic conditions. The Protection of Civil Rights, Act 1955 and the Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989 are two important Acts enacted by the Government of India for the protection of human rights of dalits. Apart from these central Acts there have been many state level initiatives to prevent discrimination, protect human rights and promote welfare of dalits. On the other hand, Indian Government has also strived to implement the provisions of United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights through establishment of National human Right Commission. There are several governmental and semi governmental bodies who takes care of the grievances of Dalits in India.

Violence against Dalit Women

Vulnerably positioned at the bottom of caste, class and gender hierarchies, Dalit women experience endemic gender-and-caste discrimination and violence as the outcome of severely imbalanced social, economic and political power equations. Their socio-economic vulnerability and lack of political voice, when combined with the dominant risk factors of being Dalit and female, increase their exposure to potentially violent situations while simultaneously reducing their ability to escape violence against Dalit women reinforces caste norms wherein they are seen as available for all forms of violence, especially sexual violence.

justice, on a basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular, provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities.

According to India's National Commission for Women, "In the commission of offences against... [Dalit] women the [dominant caste] offenders try to establish their authority and humiliate the community by subjecting their women to indecent and inhuman treatment." (Irudayam, Mangubhai & Lee, 2006. P. 2). Further, when they transgress caste norms such as those prescribing caste endogamy or untouchability practices, or assert their rights over resources or public spaces, violence is unleashed on them⁷.

The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women has noted that Dalit women "face targeted violence, even rape and death from state actors and powerful members of dominant castes, used to inflict political lessons and crush dissent within the community..." (UN Special Rapporteur. 2002). Similarly, in its 2007 Concluding Comments the CERD Committee noted its concern about the alarming number of allegations of acts of sexual violence against Dalit women primarily by dominant caste men.

Forms and Frequency

There are nine major forms of violence against Dalit women; physical assault, verbal abuse, sexual harassment, assault, rape, sexual exploitation, forced prostitution, kidnapping and abduction; and three being violence in the family – female foeticide and infanticide, child sexual abuse and domestic violence from natal and marital family members. The more frequent forms of violence that are perpetrated against the majority of Dalit women are verbal abuse, physical assault, sexual harassment and assault, domestic violence and rape, in descending order. Child sexual abuse in terms of particularly early child marriages and sexual relations with minor Dalit girls below the age of 16 years is also prominent.

According to the National Crime statistics 2001 there are 2,824 reported cases of rape, 4,591 cases of serious injuries, 517 cases of murder, 2261 cases of kidnapping and abduction, 8527 cases of physical torture, 10,425 cases of eve-teasing, 3,588 cases of molestation and sexual harassment, 556 cases of importation of girls, and 4452 cases under Immoral Tariff Act. Thus, there were 37,841 registered cases of violence against dalit women in the year 2001 alone. The Asian Centre of Human

⁷ though it should be noted that dalit women also face violence from dominant caste women, who benefit, from, or are complicit in maintain the power of their caste, and hence also participate in perpetuating caste inequalities and violence against dalit.

rights publication "Torture in India 2009" states that the NCRB "reported total 30,031 cases including 206 cases under the Protection of Civil Rights cases and 9, 819 under the S.C. /S.T. Act – against the S.Cs in 2007. Although the average charge sheeting rate for the crimes against the S.Cs was 90.6 %, the average conviction rate was only 30.9%.a total of 51,705 persons (78.9%) out of 65,554 persons arrested for crimes committed against S.Cs were charge sheeted, but only 29.4 were convicted, consisting of 13,871 persons out of 47,136 persons against whom trails were completed." It should be noted that in India about 90 percent crimes against dalit women are not reported to the police of the fear of social ostracism and threat to personal safety and security. Also the legal proceedings are so complicated, tardy, time-consuming, costly and unfriendly to dalits that usually they do not approach courts or other law enforcing agencies for their redressal. Besides a huge number of dalit women are dragged in the profession of flesh-trade and prostitution. Many of these unfortunate women are minor and innocent girls who are lured by unscrupulous touts and agents in this profession. The religious practice like devadasis and sevikas of the temples in the south and western India also force them into this profession and are given religious colour.

Untouchability was officially banned by the 1950 Indian constitution, and there are education and public sector hiring quotas for dalits and indigenous tribes. Still, the majority of dalits continue to face severe discrimination, especially in rural areas. The average rural dalit women clocks more agriculture fields hours each year then her male counterpart. Those who move to the cities often end up in export processing zones where they are subjected to pregnancy tests in order to obtain jobs and then work 12 hour shifts. Dalit women are often targeted for government birth control schemes, including forced sterilization and guinea pig trails.

These complex reality demands of us committed to and involved with the dalit human rights monitoring that we re-think, re-strategize and reorganize our interventions in support of dalits assertion.

An important aspect of marginalisation of dalit women as part of society, responsible citizen and in political participation is because of their low participation in civil societies associations. The electoral benefit available to them through affirmative action does not enhance the inclusion in the civil society. Also the bourgeois nature of the women movements is not adequately prepared to address issues of dalit women, there disadvantages and marginality leading to the alienation of dalit women from women's movement.

The dalit movement since before independence has gone through various phases of rigour and relapse,

the activity has also been regional. But the important and dominant is the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) which is an outcome of the political wing of the trade union of backward and minorities communities employees federation in the late 1970's to unify the oppressed dalits and the majority backward and minority communities.

Mayawati a dalit woman, headed the government formed by BSP all the four times in UP. There had been policies and programmes that had been directly benefitting the dalits. But in the political progression of the BSP, women's participation had been minimal and no specific measures had been taken to improve their measures. The presence of dalit women is significant even in dalit political parties such as BSP. While lack of qualified women is often given an explanation for inadequate women's representation, but no measures had been taken to improve it. The National Federation of Dalit Women formed in 1995 also did not succeed in main streaming dalit women's. The dalit women's association in Nagpur and Samvadini in Mumbai are the only two dalit independent dalit women's organizations, which had been able to sustain their presence. A common problem with all these associations is the poor grass root presence, where oppression is actually far greater. There is greater need to raise awareness about their basic citizen ship rights, particularly at this level.

Whose failure: Conclusion

Recognize Dalit women as a distinct social group rather than subsuming them under the general women or Dalit category, and accordingly evolve and implement a specific focus and activities on Dalit women's rights within the broader framework of the Dalit and women's empowerment agenda. Ensure full and strict implementation of laws in place to protect Dalit women's rights and implement measures to ensure the abolition of 'untouchability' and implement strict sanctions against anyone preventing or discouraging victims from reporting incidents of violence or accessing the criminal justice system, including police and other law enforcement officers. Ensure the implementation of national penal codes in its jurisdiction, and that law enforcement officials, judges, lawyers, social workers and medical professionals are duly trained on the serious and criminal nature of domestic violence. Sukumar and menon, also argues that "Among the multiplicity of exclusions, what is relevant for us is the sharing of social opportunities. It was precisely the lack of social opportunities, sanctioned by law and custom, which pushed vast sections of Indians to live a life of penury, denied of both cultural and social capital. In order to bridge the gap, affirmative action was made constitutionally mandatory so as to enable the deprived populace to regain their dignity. However, the reality is diametrically

opposed to the perceived vision.” (Sukumar & Menon 2011).

Thus, the contemporary situation and Dalit woman as a subject of multiple victimizations needs to be protected. The existing situation demands two kinds of action; firstly protective and another affirmative. Protective policy needs to be formulated in such a way so that the functional collaboration of caste, patriarchy and bureaucracy

is deconstructed. Affirmative policy should target to secure welfare provision after victimization in terms of administration, judiciary and welfare department in a proper way. The implementation of existing policies is very important on the other hand the hurdles against implementation to be eradicated. There is a need of extra institutional setup for supervision of existing policies and administration

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